

फाईल संख्या 800/6/C/1/91-POL  
File No.  
खण्ड  
Volume

भारत सरकार  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
प्रधान मन्त्री कार्यालय  
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Political

अनुभाग/प्रभाग

SECTION/DIVISION

टिप्पणियाँ/पत्राचार

NOTES/CORRESPONDENCE

विषय  
SUBJECT

.....को सूचीकृत की गई  
Indexed on

आद्याक्षर.....  
Initial

Netaji Subhas ch. Bose -  
disappearance of

अभिलेख क/ख  
Record A/B

अभिलेख ग.....में नष्ट की जाए  
Record C Destroy in .....

अनुभागीय नोट बुक में नोट किया जाए  
नोट न किया जाए

To be noted  
Not to be noted in Sectional Note Look

अनु० अ०/अधीक्षक के आद्याक्षर.....

Initials of S. O./Supdt.

लिपिक के आद्याक्षर.....

Initials of Clerck

| CONTENTS |        |    |         |
|----------|--------|----|---------|
| NOTES    | S. Nos |    | Pages   |
| CORP.    | From   | To | From To |
|          |        |    | 1-12    |

पिछले हवाले  
Previous References

2(64)/80-PM  
2(64)/81-PM  
2(64)/82-PM  
2(64)/84-PM  
2(64)/86-PM  
800/6/C/3/88-POL (2(64)88)  
800/6/C/1/89-POL  
800/6/C/1/91-POL

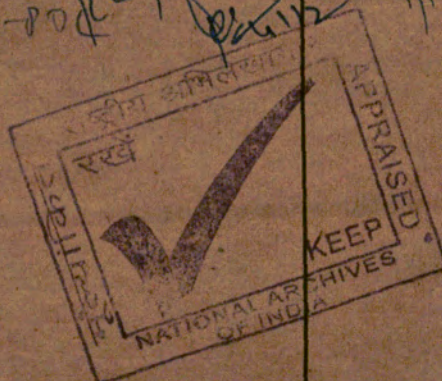
बाद के हवाले  
Later References

870/11/1/10/91-POL

870/11/1/P/17/90-POL

870/11/1/P/16/92-POL

870/11/1/P/10/93-POL





**Madhu Dandavate**  
Member of Parliament  
(Loksabha)

Parliament House,  
Room No. 4,  
Tel. No. : 695825  
695820  
695628



B2  
K-1, Sharadashram,  
Bhawani Shankar Road,  
Dadar, Bombay-400 028.  
Tel. : 4225446  
10, Ashok Road,  
New Delhi-110 001.  
Tel. : 387916

March 6, 1991

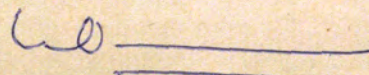
My dear Chandrasekhar,

I enclose Shri Samar Guha's letter of 26th February regarding high level investigation into "secret documents" on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Kindly advise the concerned officers to expeditiously look into the matter with a view to resolve this mystery to the satisfaction of all.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

  
(Madhu Dandavate)

Encl:

Shri Chandrasekhar  
Prime Minister of India  
New Delhi

8/3/91

6735-2/1  
19/3

10/4/1991  
19/3



PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
Ex-MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



B3

✓

Dear Prof Madan Sarbadhikari,

I hope you will remember that Shri Morarji Desai, in a public statement in Lok Sabha on September, 1978, declined to accept the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission of Enquiry into 'disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' since August 18, 1945 as 'conclusive'. Shri Morarji Desai as the then Prime Minister of India, thus, re-opened the issue of a fresh inquiry about Netaji mystery.

Morarjibhai, thereafter, suggested to me that instead of holding any public enquiry after so many years of alledged aircraft crash involving Netaji it will be more effective if an Investigative Inquiry by experts is made to find out what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I agreed to Morarjibhai's suggestion. But sudden political change in 1979 kept the matter hanging.

After the National Front Government came into power I took up the matter with the President of India, Shri R.Venkataraman and the then Prime Minister, Shri V.P.Singh. On an advice from the President Shri R. Venkataraman, Shri V.P. Singh agreed to start a high level Investigative Inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and informed me in a letter dt. 7.6.90:

"...I have asked the Minister of External Affairs for high level investigation into 'secret documents' on Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose believe to be available in the USSR, UK, Japan and USA".  
(See Annexure I)

But because of sudden political change the proposed Investigation could not be started.

After installation of the Government under Shri Chandrasekhar, I made a fresh move to meet the President and the Prime Minister for implementing the assurance given by the National Front Government. The President of India took up the matter with Shri Chandrasekhar who agreed to implement the advice of the President for a fresh Investigative Inquiry into the mystery shrouding the fate of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

The Joint Secretary to the President of India informed me in a letter dt. January 29, 1991:

"The President wishes me to convey his thanks to you for your letter of January 21, and to let you know that he had taken up the subject with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has informed the President that the issue will be looked into."  
(See Annexure II)

I trust you will feel that it is our overdue national duty to find out what really happened to the greatest national hero of our National Liberation, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Let our future generation not accuse us of failure to acknowledge our gratitude to the Revolutionary Pilgrim of India who dedicated himself absolutely in fulfilment of the mission of liberation of his motherland.

I would urge you, in the name of God and our Motherland to take up the matter with the Prime Minister - Shri Chandrasekhar requesting him to set up immediately an Expert Committee for High Level Investigation into the 'secret documents' on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose believed to be available with the Governments of USSR, Japan, UK, USA and China.

I believe you will raise the matter on the floor of the Parliament as well to create a moral compulsion on the Government to fulfil our national duty to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With regards,

26th February,  
8/2, Central Park,  
Calcutta - 700 032.

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*  
(SAMAR GUHA)





PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
June 27, 1990

Sub: Letter dated 15th June, 1990 regarding investigation  
into the documents of Netaji Subhas Chandra  
Bose

Dear Prof. Guha,

Your letter on the above subject has been received.

I shall have the matter looked into.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Samar Guha  
8/2, Central Park  
Calcutta

[Vishwanath Pratap Singh]



भारत के राष्ट्रपति का संयुक्त सचिव  
*Joint Secretary to the President of India*

No. F 3/JS P/91

ANNEXURE II

राष्ट्रपति भवन  
नई दिल्ली

*Rashtrapati Bhavan  
New Delhi*

January 29, 1991.

Dear Professor,

The President wishes me to convey his thanks to you for  
your letter of January 21, and to let you know that he had taken up  
the subject with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has  
informed the President that the issue will be looked into.

*With regards*

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Samar Guha,  
8/2, Central Park,  
Calcutta 700032.

*Gopal Krishna Gandhi*  
Gopal Krishna Gandhi





PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
March 18, 1991

Dear Prof. Dandavate,

I have received your letter of 6th March, 1991 along with a letter of Shri Samar Guha regarding high level investigation into secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I am having this looked into.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Chandra Shekhar*

[Chandra Shekhar]

Prof. Madhu Dandavate  
10, Ashok Road  
New Delhi

No. 800/6/C/1/91-POL

Dated 2.4.91

Copy, with copy of letter under reply, forwarded to Home Secretary (Shri R.K. Bhargava) for appropriate action. It is requested that suitable reply may kindly be sent to the M.P. under intimation to this office.

(Prabhat C. Chaturvedi)  
Director

O/c *idm*  
2.4.91

4736-*idm*  
1/4

*idm*  
3/4



3

5

D.O. No. I/12014/6/90-IS(D.III)

C.V.S.K. SARMA  
DEPUTY SECRETARY  
PH. 3013154

BHARAT SARKAR  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
GRIH MANTRALAYA  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

New Delhi, the 26<sup>th</sup> May, 1991.

Dear Shri

I am enclosing a copy of letter of 6th March, 1991 alongwith a letter dated 26th February, 1991 of Shri Samar Suha addressed to Prof. Madhu Dandavate and Shri Yeswant Sinha, Finance Minister received from Prime Minister's Office endorsement No. 800/6/C/1/91-PKL dated 2nd April, 1991 and Office of Finance Minister's Dy. No. 1869/MM/VIP/91 dated ntl regarding high level investigation into secret document on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

2. As regards setting up of an expert Committee on high level investigation into the secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, which are believed to be available in USSR, UK, Japan, USA involves consultation with other countries, and hence would be the concern of Ministry of External Affairs.

3. I shall be grateful if you could kindly take necessary action at your end and a suitable reply may also be sent to the MP(Ex) under intimation to Prime Minister's Office and this Ministry.

Yours sincerely,

( C.V.S.K. SARMA )

Shri Shyam Saran,  
Joint Secretary (EA),  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.

Copy to:

Shri Prabhat C. Chaturvedi, Director,  
Prime Minister's Office with reference to  
their endorsement No. 800/6/C/1/POL  
dated 2nd April, 1991.

( C.V.S.K. SARMA )



Ph : 68-3544  
Resi: 26, Guitandal Lane,  
Howrah - 1  
Dt. 09.10.91.

Sub : Controversy over death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

I draw your personal attention to the startling news flashed in the Calcutta Statesman October 5, 1991. The Xerox copy of the news is annexed hereto for your perusal and ready reference. The old controversy - whether Subhas Chandra died in an air crash or murdered /died a natural death in Manchuria or in any concentration camp in Russia during late Joseph Stalin's regime - in conspiracy with the then Prime Minister of India, late Jawaharlal Nehru - the truth has to be unearthed ? It is imperative on the part of this Government to unearth the truth of death of Subhas Chandra, because he was not only a national hero but also a prime person who liberated the nation from the bondage . If this Government is sincere to the pride of the nation and if it stands upon the patriotic urge, then, all misdeeds and inactions of previous Governments over death of the National Hero must open to the nation. Otherwise, the nation will be deprived from knowing the real truth of demise of their arch patriot. The Stalin's regime of iron curtain is now over, it is therefore, high time for our Government to know the truth. The Prime Minister's office is well conversant with this fact since I had discussions with your predecessor Mr.V.P.Singh and he told me that the then Government had made some headway through diplomatic channels. I am herewith giving the xerox copy of my letters addressed to the then Prime Minister and as well as to Prof. Nurul Hassan, the State Governor of West Bengal together with the personal letter of acknowledgement of the Prime Minister Mr.V.P.Singh for enlightenment of your august office.

With kindest regards,

*Sureswar Dutta*  
(Sureswar Dutta)  
Copy to :- 9-10-91

1. Sri V.P.Singh, M.P.  
former Prime Minister of India -- to use his personal weight to  
7, Jatarmanatar Road, New Delhi. the office of the present P.M.  
Copy of the letter is hereby sent to **President Gorbachov** and **President**  
**Yeltsin** through the Consul General of U.S.S.R. at Calcutta.

$$\begin{array}{r} 2 \\ 14 \overline{) 14} \\ \underline{14} \\ 0 \end{array}$$



# Document revives controversy over Netaji's death

By GAUTAM CHOUDHURI

THE old controversy whether Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died in an air crash has been revived to some extent by the recent discovery of a document from the archives of the Princeton University in the USA by a German human rights organization. The document, and an extensive personal investigation, have convinced Mr Amriyanath Bose, Netaji's nephew, and an eminent barrister that Netaji was alive till 1947 when he might have been executed under Stalin's orders.

There is a letter, dated July 22, 1946, written by Khurshed Naoroji, personal secretary of Gandhiji, to Louis Fischer, the American author and journalist, known for his biographies of Lenin, Stalin and Gandhi, which says: "At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army. If Bose comes with the help of Russia, neither Gandhiji nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country."

Explains an agitated Mr Bose: "The letter was written almost a year after the so-called Taihoku crash in which Netaji was said to have been killed. It is impossible to believe that a close aide and confidant of Gandhiji could write about Netaji to Fischer (who was also very close to Gandhiji) if Netaji was really killed in the air crash. Why should then Khurshed express apprehensions about a possible comeback by Subhas Bose? Why then is it stated that Bose's return to India could result in political upheavals in the country beyond the control of Gandhiji and the Congress?"

Anyone going through the fairly long letter will appreciate the true intent behind it, says Mr Bose, who was elected a member of the AICC in January, 1945 and remained a member of the Congress till June, 1947. "In May, 1945, I met Gandhiji for the first time in Poona after my return from England. I also came to know at that time Khurshed Naoroji, who was staying with Gandhiji. Khurshed was not only a close confidant of Gandhiji, but was also working as one of his secretaries. I had also met

Khurshed in Delhi when Gandhiji was staying in Bhangi colony".

It is known that on August 17, 1945, Netaji left Saigon by plane, accompanied by Col. Habibur Rahman. Mr Bose points out that it is now an established fact that before Netaji left for Saigon by air, there was an agreement between Netaji and the Japanese Government that the Japanese would help him to reach Dairen in Manchuria and, after his safe landing at Dairen, the Japanese Government would make a false radio announcement that Netaji had died in an air crash.

The semi-official Domei News Agency made a radio broadcast on August 22, 1945, stating that Subhas Bose had died in an air crash at Taihoku four days earlier (i.e. August 18) and that his body had been flown to Tokyo for cremation. But to the surprise of many, the news agency announced the next day, on August 23, that Netaji's body had been cremated at Taihoku itself.

It is not easy to understand why the Japanese Government behaved in this manner, violating a friendly and seemingly tactical agreement with Subhas Bose. One reason could be that the Japanese Government had ceased to be in command, having surrendered to the American forces on August 15, 1945. By September that year, Tokyo and other areas of Japan were occupied by the U.S. army. An intelligence party from General Mac Arthur's headquarters went to Taihoku towards the end of September, followed by another intelligence party from Lord Mountbatten's headquarters in Singapore. Yet another team of intelligence officials went to Taihoku from Delhi at a subsequent date.

Meanwhile, on August 7, 1945, the Russian Army invaded Manchuria, in violation of the Russo-Japanese Non-Aggression Pact. Netaji, it may be remembered, was supposed to be flown from Saigon to Dairen in Manchuria only 11 days later. One can, therefore, hazard a guess that after he landed at Dairen, he was captured by the invading Russian Army. Mr Bose refers in this context to Radhabinode Pal, an eminent jurist, who became a member of the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal after World War II.

"Dr Pal told my father, Sarat Chandra Bose, in my presence after his return from Tokyo in 1946 that the American Judge of the War Crimes Tribunal had shown him the U.S. Intelligence report which clearly stated that Netaji did not die in any air crash, that he safely landed at Dairen, that there was in fact no air crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945 and that Netaji was in Russian custody".

Mr Bose claims that his father also informed Gandhiji at that time about the purport of the American intelligence report. "I have personal knowledge that Jawaharlal Nehru secured a copy of that report, when he became the Prime Minister in the Interim Government in Delhi", he adds. He also says that Col. Habibur Rahman, who was said to have accompanied Netaji and who left India after partition and settled in Pakistan, had issued a statement, published in the Civil and Military Gazette and other papers in Pakistan, "clearly

said that no plane crashed at Taihoku on August 1945, that Netaji did not die in any air crash and that whatever he said in India was done under Netaji's orders.

Mr Bose says that when the Shah Nawaz Committee went to Tokyo, the then Foreign Minister of Japan, Mamoru Shigemitsu, spoke to the Taiwan supreme, Marshal Chiang-Kai-Shek, and made all necessary arrangements to enable the committee to visit Taihoku by placing a Japanese plane at the committee's disposal. "But Nehru scuttled the plan by directing Shah Nawaz Khan not to go to Taihoku at all. The best chance to get at the truth was thus denied by Nehru himself. He was, however, aware of the truth in this matter since he had in his possession the Intelligence report of General MacArthur's team, but he made the committee submit a false report stating that Netaji died in the air crash for the purpose of hoodwinking the people of India".

It was Khurshed Naoroji's letter to Fischer, however, which Mr Bose describes as "a clincher". The letter, he says, proves conclusively that Subhas Chandra Bose was in Russia on July 22, 1946, the date in which the letter was written. Along with this letter there is a bundle of sealed papers in the archives, with a note by Fischer that the bundle should not be opened before 2000 AD. "Perhaps, Fischer knew about Netaji's final days and therefore might have wanted a delayed announcement of the truth to avoid complications", Mr Bose says. He points out that Fischer was close to top U.S. administration and knew Stalin well, as he lived in Moscow for three years with grants from Princeton University to write a biography of Lenin.

Mr Bose wants a campaign to be launched in India to compel the Soviet leaders to disclose what happened to Subhas Bose in Russia after July, 1946 and whether Bose is alive or dead and, if dead, in what circumstances he died. He says that he is in touch with human rights organizations in Germany, Geneva and London, which have promised to support this demand to ascertain the fate of the great revolutionary leader of India.

Mr Bose points out that Stalin was not a friend of India, as was evident from an interview he gave to the Dean of Canterbury, reverend Hewlett Johnson, in the Kremlin on July 9, 1945. It was published in an Indian newspaper (The Hindu) on July 19, 1945. In it, Stalin said, "I want to keep a firm union with England not only in words but in deeds. We have no wish whatsoever to hurt England or hinder England. We want to be friends on England".

Mr Bose says: "It is clear from the above that Stalin was a supporter of British Imperialism. He was certainly not a supporter of the Indian Independence movement. It is, therefore, no wonder that Stalin and subsequent Soviet rulers wanted to maintain utmost secrecy on the final days of Netaji in the Soviet Union. But can't we expect the truth about Netaji to be revealed by President Gorbachov and President Yeltsin now, since the Stalinist era has

7

10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  
99  
100



SURESWAR DUTTA

Vice President, Janata Dal,  
W. B. State Committee



Phone : 68-3544

Res :—26, GUITANDEL LANE,  
HOWRAH 711101

Date.....1.....9.....1990.

To  
Mr.V.P. Singh,  
Prime Minister,  
South Block,  
New Delhi

Dear Prime Minister,

A startling news has been revealed by Sri Amiya Basu an esteemed leader of our party published in Ananda Bazar Patrika on this day of 1st September 1990 (the xerox copy of the said news is attached herewith this letter). It is not the event of the death of a Hero of the Nation but the event is this that your predecessor late Pandit Jawharlal Nehru had hushed up the matter of Netaji's death or murder in Manchuria. As per statement of Sri Basu that comrade Gorbachov has recently admitted that Indian communist leaders Abani Mukherjee and Birondra Nath Chatterjee were murdered in Joseph Stalin's regime. His father late Sarat Chandra Basu had written letter in 1949 to late Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan the then Ambassador in Soviet Union, seeking informations about Netaji Subhas Chandra along with communist leader Abani Mukherjee. Therefore, the so called accidental death of Netaji Subhas Chandra in air crash in 1945 becomes redundant. Sri Amiya Basu has emphasized on basis of documents and also with reference to letter of his father that Netaji had gone to Manchuria at the close of Second World War. It will be no second task on the part of our present Government to find out the death incident of Subhas Chandra. At this stage, the announcement of bringing ash of Netaji from Tokyo and preservation of the remnant of ash will be a mockery to the nation. It appears to any prudent man that the so called announcement of Netaji's death and admission of the Government of India simultaneously are matters of deep conspiracy. I had a telephonic conversation with Sri Amiya Basu about the credence of his statement and he further asserted that the announcement of death of Netaji in so called air crash and set up of Shewanwar commission are all

...2/p.



9

all imagination of late Prime Minister Jawharlal Nehru. He has categorically stated that he has documents

which will reveal that Netaji died in Manchuria either in concentration camp in Stalin's Regime or met a natural death. The nation is eager to know whether the then Government had any hand in the matter ? Kindly arrange to know the truth behind the curtain through diplomatic means with the present friendly Government of U.S.S.R. especially through Comrade Gorbachev.

Awaiting in extreme anxiety for the reply.

Yours faithfully,

Copy to :-  
Mr. S. K. Sonai,  
President, Janata Dal  
7, Jantar Mantar Road,  
New Delhi.

2. Sri Amiya Kr. Dasu  
Vice-President,  
Janata Dal,  
W.B. State.





PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
September 18, 1990

[200/3141/90-104]  
Sub: Letter dated 1st September, 1990 regarding death  
of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Dear Shri Sureswar Dutta,

Your letter on the above subject has been received.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,

[Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

Shri Sureswar Dutta  
Vice President  
West Bengal State Janata Dal  
26, Guitandel Lane  
Howrah - 711 101



SURESWAR DUTTA

Vice President

W. B. State Janata Dal



Res: 26 Guitandal Lane,

Howrah-711101

Phone : 68-3544

Date 24. 09. 90.

To  
Prof. Nurul Hassan,  
Governor West Bengal,  
Rajshawan, Calcutta.

Sir,

Sub: Regarding death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

On basis of news published in 'Ananda Bazar Patrika' on 1st September, 1990 about controversial death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in concentration camp of Manchuria in the year 1949 or died in air crash in 1945. The matter has become complex subsequent to admission of comrade Gorbachov that the communist leaders Abani Mukherjee and Birendra Nath Chatterjee were murdered in Joseph Stalin's regime. Late Sarat Chandra Bose brother of Netaji Subhas Chandra wrote a letter to the then Ambassador in U.S.S.R. Sarvapalli Radhakrishna Radhakrishnan in the year 1949 to secure informations about communist leader Abani Mukherjee and Subhas Chandra Bose in U.S.S.R.

I had written a letter to our beloved Prime Minister Mr. V. P. Singh on 1.9.90 the zerox copy of the said letter together with Prime Minister's letter dt. 18.9.90 are given herewith this letter for your perusal with request to take up the matter with appropriate authority to enable the nation to know about the truth behind the back.

The matter is an extreme urgent one, because Subhas

p.t.o.



Chandra was not only the Hero of the Nation but also a beloved leader of the people and in view of the report of Shahnawaz Commission set up by the then Prime Minister late Jawharlal Nehru and the finding of the commission now becomes irrelevant. The present Government's contemplation to bring remnant of Netaji's ash from Tokyo thus becomes a mockery.

I request you as head <sup>J. K. J. S. K.</sup> will kindly take up the matter with highest dignitaries of the Government at the Centre and if possible at diplomatic level to unearth the hidden truth.

Awaiting for information of the action taken by you.  
With kindest regards,

Yours faithfully,

Vice-President  
West Bengal State Janata Dal.